SEASONABLE

ADVICE,

TO

PEOPLE

OF ALL

RANKS.

By a Deceased PRELATE.

TEWKESBURY,
Printed and Sold by T. COX.

1794.

1 C. 302.

BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA ·
DOMINUS ILLUMINATIO MEA

PREFACE.

THE publiſhing by itſelf this ſmall tract, ſo many years after it had appeared in print, at the end of the *Biſhop's, Hiſtory of his own Time*, may perhaps be thought to require ſome explanation. The true one is the only one to be given: it was not till very lately, that ſome very eminent perſons, for whoſe opinion the Editor has the greateſt regard, were pleaſed to intimate to him, that as this *Dying Speech* of the Biſhop, is addreſſed to all orders and degrees of men amongſt us, it was pity it ſhould not be printed in ſuch a form, as might circulate into the hands of numbers of perſons, whom the hiſtory itſelf might never reach.

It

It might not perhaps become me to repeat the many encomiums that these worthy persons were pleased to bestow upon this performance, which they said men of very differing parties had agreed in approving. But approbation, if it has no influence on practice, is neither the end for which this prelate wrote, nor for which the Editor republiſhes this work. If the alarming truths ſo ſolemnly here laid home to the conſciences of men, can have any tendency to awaken, in the riſing generation, a ſenſe of religion, virtue or public ſpirit, no means of obtaining ſo deſirable an end, ought to be neglected. If therefore perſons of conſummate judgment, are of opinion, that this republication may have hat tendency, no one can blame the trial, at this time.

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Seasonable

Seasonable Advice &c.

I Have now set out the state of affairs for above half a century, with all the care and attention that I was capable of: I have enquired into all matters among us, and have observed them, during the course of my life, with a particular attention and impartiality. But my intention in writing was not so much to tell a fine tale to the world, and to amuse them with a discovery of many secrets and intrigues of state, to blast the memory of some, and to exalt others, to disgrace one party and to recommend another: my chief design was better formed, and deeper laid: it was to give such a disco ery of errors in government, and of the excesses and follies

lies of parties, as may make the next age wiser, by what I may tell them of the last. And I may presume, that the observations I have made, and the account that I have given, will gain me so much credit, that I may speak with a plain freedom to all sorts of persons: this not being to be published till after I am dead, when envy, jealousy or hatred will be buried with me in my grave; I may hope, that what I am now to offer to succeeding ages, may be better heard, and less censured, than any thing I could offer to the present: so that this is a sort of testament or dying speech, which I leave behind me, to be read and considered when I can speak no more: I do most earnestly beg of GOD to direct me in it, and to give it such an effect on the minds of those who read it, that I may do more good, when dead, than I could ever hope to do while I was alive.

My zeal for the Church of England.

My thoughts have run most and dwelt longest on the concerns of the church and religion: therefore I begin with them.

them. I have always had a true zeal for the church of *England;* I have lived in its communion with great joy, and have pursued its true interests with an unfeigned affection: yet I must say there are many things in it, that have been very uneasy to me.

The Doctrine

The requiring sub-scriptions to the thirty-nine articles is a great imposition: I believe them all myself: but as those, about original sin and predestination, might be expressed more unexceptionably, so I think it a better way, to let such matters continue to be still the standard of doctrine, with some few corrections, and to censure those who teach any contrary tenets; than to oblige all, that serve in the church, to subscribe them: the greater part subscribe without ever examining them; and others do it because they must do it, tho' they can hardly satisfy their consciences about somethings in them. Churches and societies are much better secured by laws, than by subscriptions: it is a more reasonable, as well as a more easy method of government.

The Worship. Our worship is the perfectest composition of devotion, that we find in any church, ancient or modern: yet the corrections that were agreed to, by a deputation of bishops and divines in the year 1689, would make the whole frame of our liturgy more perfect, as well as more unexceptionable; and will, I hope, at some time or other, be better entertained, than they were then. I am persuaded they are such, as would bring in the much greater part of the dissenters to the communion of the church, and are in themselves desirable, tho' there were not a dissenter in the nation.

And discipline. As for the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it has been the burthen of my life, to see how it was administered: our courts are managed under the rules of the canon law, dilatory and expensive: and as their constitution is bad, so the business in them is small; and therefore all possible contrivances are used to make the most of those causes, that come before them: so that they are universally dreaded and

and hated. GOD grant that a time may come, in which that noble design, so near being perfected in King *Edward* the sixth's days, of the *reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, may be reviewed and established: that so matrimonial and testamentary causes, which are of a mixed nature, may be left, a little better regulated, to the lay hands of chancellors and other officers; but that the whole correction of the manners of the laity, and the inspection into the lives and labours of the clergy, may be brought again into the hand of spiritual men, and be put into a better method. It would be well if, after the poor clergy are relieved by the tenths and first fruits, a fund were formed (of twenty or thirty pounds a year) for the rural deans; and that they, with at least three of the clergy of the deanry, named by the bishop, examined into the manners both of clergy and laity; and after the methods of private admonition had been tried, according to our Saviour's rule, but without effect, that the matter should be laid before the bishop, who, after his admonitions were

were also ineffectual, might proceed to censures, to a suspension from the sacrament, and to a full excommunication, as the case should require. This would bring our church indeed into a primitive form, in which at present the clergy have less authority, and are under more contempt, than in any church, I have yet seen. For tho' in the church of *Rome* the public authority is in general managed, according to the method continued among us, yet it was in many particulars corrected by the council of *Trent*; whereas we, by that unhappy proviso in the act, authorising the thirty two commissioners to reform our courts, are fatally tied down to all, that was in use in the twenty-fifth year of King *Henry* the eighth. Besides, in that church the clergy have, by auricular confession, but too great authority over the people; I am far from thinking that to be a lawful, or even a desirable thing: but since that is not to be thought of, we are in a woful condition, in which the clergy are, as it were, shut out from any share of the main parts of the care of souls.

The

My Zeal against separation.

The want of true well regulated discipline is a great defect, owned to be so in the preface to the office of commination: and, while we continue in this condition, we are certainly in an imperfect state. But this did never appear to me, to be a just ground of separation; which I could never think lawful, unless the terms of communion among us were unlawful, and did oblige a man to sin: that seems to me the only justifiable cause of separation, of leaving the established church, and of setting up a distinct or opposite communion. Nothing under this seems to be a just ground of rending the body of christ, or of disturbing the order of the world and the peace of mankind, thereby drawing on that train of ill consequences, that must and do follow upon such a disjointing the society of christians; by which they become alienated from one another, and in the sequel to hate and devour each other, and by which they are in danger of being consumed one of another.

And tenderness to scrupulous consciences.

I do wish and will pray for it as long as I live, that some regard may be had to those scruples, with which the dissenters are entangled: and, tho I think they are not all well grounded, yet for peace sake I wish some things may be taken away, and that other things may be softened and explained: many of these things were retained at the reformation, to draw the people more intirely into it; who are apt to judge, especially in times of ignorance, by outward appearances, more than by the real value of things: so the preserving an exterior, that looked somewhat like what they had been formerly accustomed to, without doubt had a great effect at first on many persons, who, without that, could not have been easily brought over to adhere to that work: and this was a just and lawful Consideration. But it is now at an end; none now are brought over from popery by this means; there is not therefore such a necessity for continuing them still, as there was for keeping them up

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at first. I confess, it is not advisable, without good reason for it, to make great changes in things that are visible and sensible; yet upon just grounds, some may be made without any danger. No inconvenience could follow, on leaving out the cross in baptism, or on laying aside surplices, and regulating cathedral, especially as to that indecent way of singing prayers, and of laymen's reading the litany: all bowings to the altar have at least an ill appearance, and are of no use; the excluding parents from being the sponsors in baptism, and requiring them to procure others, is extreme inconvenient, and makes that to be a mockery, rather than a solemn sponsion, in too many. Other things may be so explained, that no just exceptions could lie to them.

Thus I wish the terms of communion were made larger and easier; but since all is now bound on us by a law, that cannot be repealed but in parliament, there must be a great change in the minds, both of princes

and people, before that can be brought about: therefore the dissenters ought to consider well, what they can do for peace, without sinning against GOD. The toleration does not at all justify their separation; it only takes away the force of penal laws against them: therefore, as lying in common discourse is still a sin, tho' no statute punishes it; and ingratitude is a base thing, tho' there is no law against it; so separating from a national body and from the public worship, is certainly an ill thing, unless some sin be committed there, in which we think ourselves involved, by joining with that body, and in that worship: so that the toleration is only a freedom from punishment, and does nor alter the nature of the thing.

My Zeal against Persecution.

I say not this from any dislike of toleration; I think it is a right due to all men; their thoughts are not in their own power; they must think of things, as they appear to them; their consciences are GOD's, he only

only knows them, and he only can change them. And as the authority of parents over their children is antecedent to society, and no law, that takes it away, can be binding; so men are bound, antecedently to all society, to follow what appears to them to be the will of GOD; and, if men would act honestly, the rule of doing to all others what we would have others do to us, would soon determine this matter; since every honest man must own, that he would think himself hardly dealt with, if he were ill used for his opinions, and for performing such parts of worship, as he thought himself indispensably obliged to. Indeed the church of *Rome* has some colour for her cruelty, since she pretends to be infallible. But these practices are absurdly unreasonable among those, who own that they may be mistaken, and so may be persecuting the innocent and the orthodox. Persecution, if it were lawful at all, ought to be extreme, and go, as it does in the church of *Rome*, to extirpation; for the bad

treatment of those, who are suffered still to live in a society, is the creating so many malecontents, who at some time or other may make those, who treat them ill, feel their revenge: and the principle of persecution, if true, is that, to which all have a right, when they have a power to put it in practice: since they, being persuaded that they are in the right, from that must believe they may lawfully exert against others that severity, under which they groaned long themselves. This will be aggravated in them by the voice of revenge, which is too apt to be well heard by human nature, chiefly when it comes with the mask and appearance of zeal. I add not here any political considerations, from the apparent interest of nations, which must dispose them to encourage the encrease of their people, to advance industry, and to become a sanctuary to all, who are oppressed: but tho' this is visible and is confessed by all, yet I am now considering this matter only as it is righteous, just and merciful, in the principle;

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for if it were not so well supported in those respects, other motives would only be a temptation to princes and states to be governed by interest, more than by their duty.

My Thoughts concerning the the Clergy.

Having thus given my thought in general, with relation to the constitution of our church and the communion with it, I shall proceed, in the next place, to that which is special with relation to the clergy. I have said a great deal on this head, in my book of the *Pastoral Care*, which of all the tracts I ever wrote, is that in which I rejoice the most: and, tho' it has brought much anger on me from those, who will not submit to the plan there laid down, yet it has done much good during my own life, and I hope it will do yet more good, after I am dead: this is a subject I have thought much upon, and so I will here add some things, to what will be found in that book.

No man ought to think of this profession, unless

unless he feels within himself a love to religion, with a zeal for it, and an internal true piety; *An inward Vocation.*

which is chiefly kept up by secret prayer, and by reading of the scriptures: as long as these things are a man's burden, they are infallible indications, that he as no inward vocation, nor motion of the holy ghost to undertake it. The capital error in men's preparing themselves for that function is, that they study books more than themselves, and that they read divinity more in other books, than in the scriptures: days of prayer, meditation, and fasting, at least once a quarter in the *Ember* week, in which they may read over and over again both offices of ordination, and get by heart those passeges in the epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, that relate to this function, would form their minds to a right sense of it, and be an effectual mean to prepare them duly for it.

Ask yourselves often (for thus I address myself to you, as if I were still alive) would you

you follow that course of life, if there were no settled establishment belonging to it, and if you were to preach under the cross, and in danger of persecution? for till you arrive at that, you are yet carnal, and come into the priesthood, for a piece of bread: study to keep alive in you a flame of exalted devotion; be talking often to yourselves, and communing with your own hearts; digest all that you read carefully, that you may remember it so well, as not to be at loss when any point of divinity is talked of: a little study well digested, in a good serious mind, will go a great way, and will lay in materials for your whole life: above all things, raise within yourselves a zeal for doing good, and for gaining souls; indeed I have lamented, during my whole life, that I saw so little true zeal among our clergy; I saw much of it in the clergy of the church of *Rome*, tho' it is both ill directed and ill conducted: I saw much zeal likewise throughout the foreign churches: the dissenters have a great deal among them; but I must own, that the main

body

body of our clergy has always appeared dead and lifeless to me; and instead of animating one another, they seem rather to lay one another asleep. Without a visible alteration in this, you will fall under an universal contempt, and lose both the credit and the fruits of your ministry.

The Function of the Clergy.

When you are in orders, be ever ready to perform all the parts of your function; be not anxious about a settlement; study to distinguish yourselves in your studies, labours, exemplary deportment, and a just sweetness of temper, managed with gravity and discretion; and as for what concerns yourselves, depend on the providence of GOD; for he will in due time raise up friends and benefactors to you. I do affirm this, upon the observation of my whole life, that I never knew any one, who conducted himself by these rules, but he was brought into good posts, or at least into an easy state of subsistence.

Do

Do not affect to run into new opinions, nor to heat yourselves in disputes, about matters of small importance: begin with settleing in your minds the foundations of your faith; and be full of this, and ready at it, that you may know how to deal with unbelievers; for that is the spreading corruption of this age: there are few atheists, but many infidels, who are indeed very little better then the atheists. In this argument, you ought to take pains to have all well digested, and clearly laid in your thoughts, that you manage the controversy gently, without any asperity of words, but with a strength of reason: in disputing, do not offer to answer any argument, of which you never heard before, and know nothing concerning it; that will both expose you, and the cause you maintain; and, if you feel yourselves grow too warm at any time, break of and persist no longer in the dispute; for you may by that grow to an indecent heat, by which you may wrong the cause, which you endeavour to defend. In the mat-

ter of mysteries be very cautious; for the simplicity, in which those sublime truths are delivered in the scriptures, ought to be well studied and adhered to: only one part of the argument should be insisted on, I mean, the shortness and defectiveness of our faculties; which being well considered, will afford a great variety of noble speculations, that are obvious and easily apprehended, to restrain the wanton sallies of some petulant men.

Study to understand well the controversies of the church of *Rome*, chiefly those concerning infallibility and transubstantiation; for, in managing those, their missionaries have a particular address. Learn to view popery in a true light, as a conspiracy to exalt the power of the clergy, even by subjecting the most sacred truths of religion to contrivances for raising their authority, and by offering to the world another method of being saved, besides that prescribed in the gospel. Popery is a mass of impostures, supported by men, who manage them with great advantages, and impose

impose them with inexpressible severities, on those who dare call any thing in question, that they dictate to them. I see a spirit rising among us, too like that of the church of *Rome*, of advancing the clergy beyond their due authority, to an unjust pitch: this rather heightens jealousies and prejudices against us, than advances our real authority; and it will fortify the designs of profane infidels, who desire nothing more than to see the publick ministry of the church first disgraced, and then abolished. The carrying any thing too far does commonly lead men into the other extreme: we are the dispensers of the word and sacraments; and the more faithful and diligent we are in this, the world will pay so much the more respect and submission to us: and our maintaining an argument for more power, than we now have, will be of no effect, unless the world sees, that we make a good use of the authority, that is already in our hands: it is with the clergy as with princes; the only way to keep their prerogative from being un-

uneasy to their subjects, and from being disputed, is to manage it wholly for their good and advantage, then all will be for it, when they find it is for them: this will prevail more effectually, than all the arguments of lawyers, with all the precedents of former times. Therefore let the clergy live and labour well, and they will feel that as much authority will follow that, as they will know how to manage well. And to speak plainly; *Dodwell's* extravagant notions, which have been too much drunk in by the clergy in my time, have weakened the power of the church, and soured men's minds more against it, than all the books wrote, or attempts made against it, could ever have done: and indeed, the secret poison of those principles has given too many of the clergy a bias towards popery, with an aversion to the reformation, which has brought them under much contempt. This is not to be recovered, but by their living and labouring as they ought to do, without an eager maintaining of argument, for their authority, which

which will never succeed, till they live better and labour more: when I say live better, I mean, not only to live without scandal, which I have found the greatest part of them do, but to lead exemplary lives; to be eminent in humility, meekness, sobriety, contempt of the world, and unfeigned love of the brethren; abstracted from the vain conversation of the world, retired, and at home, fasting often, joining prayer and meditation with it; without which, fasting may do well with relation to the body, but will signify little with relation to the mind.

If, to such a course of life, clergymen would add a little more labour, not only performing public offices, and preaching to the edification of the people, but watching over them, instructing them, exhorting, reproving, and comforting them, as occasion is given from house to house, making their calling the business of their whole life; they would soon find their own minds grow to be in a better temper, and their people would shew more

esteem

esteem and regard for them, and a blessing from GOD would attend upon their labours. I say it with great regret, I have observed the clergy, in all the places thro' which I have travelled, papists, lutherans, calvinists and dissenters; but of them all, our clergy is much the most remiss in their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives. Do not think I say this to expose you, or to defame this church; those censures have passed on me for my freedom during my life, GOD knows how unjustly, my designs being all to awaken the clergy, and by that means to preserve the church; for which, he, who knows all things knows how much and how long I have been mourning in secret, and fasting and praying before him. And let me say this freely to you, now that I am out of the reach of envy and censure, unless a better spirit possesses the clergy, arguments, (and which is more) laws and authority will not prove strong enough to preserve the church; especially if the nation observes a progress in that bias,

bias which makes many so favourable to popery, and so severe towards the dissenters; this will recommend them the more to pity and favour, and will draw a general odium upon you, that may end in your ruin, or in a persecution; for which the clergy of this age seem to be very little prepared: GOD grant those of the next may be more so.

Oh my brethren, (for I speak to you as if I were among you,) think what manner of persons you ought to be, in all holy conversation and godliness, that so you may shine as lights in the world, think of the account you must give, for those immortal souls committed to your care, which were redeemed by the blood of christ, who has sent you in his name, to persuade them to be reconciled to GOD, and at last to present them to him faultless with exceeding joy; he sees and observes your labours, and will recompence them gloriously in that great day.

I leave all these things on your consciences, and pray earnestly that GOD may give his

his blessing to this posthumous labour of mine, that our church may be so built up by your labours, that it may continue to be long the joy of the whole earth, in the perfection of its beauty, and may be a pattern, as well as give protection, to all the churches of GOD.

My Advice to the Bishops.

I now turn to my brethren and successors in the episcopal order: you are they in whose hands the government of the church is put; in some respects it is believed to be wholly in you, tho' I know, and have often felt it, that your power is so limited, that you can do little; exemptions (a scandalous remnant of popery) take a great part of your diocess out of your hands. This I have often wondered at, that some who plead, that the government of the church is settled by divine authority in the bishops, can yet, by the virtue of papal bulls, confirmed by an unhappy clause in an act of parliament, exercise episcopal jurisdiction; which

which is plainly to act by virtue of the secular power, in opposition to that, which, according to their principles, is settled by a divine appointment. Archdeacons visitations were an invention of the latter ages, in which the bishops, neglecting their duty, cast a great part of their ca e upon them: now their visitations are only for form and for fees; and they are a charge on the clergy; so, when this matter is well looked into, I hope archdeacons, with many other burdens that lay heavy on the clergy, shall be taken away. All the various instruments, upon which heavy fees must be raised, were the infamous contrivances of the canonists, and can never be maintained, when well examined. I say nothing to you of your lives, I hope you are and shall ever be shining lights; I wish the pomp of living, and the keeping high tables could be quite taken away; it is a great charge, and no very decent one; a great devourer of time; it lets in much promiscuous company, aud much vain discourse upon

you: even civility may carry you too far, in a freedom and familiarity, that will make you look too like the rest of the world; I hope this is a burden to you: it was indeed one of the greatest burdens of my life, to see so much time lost, to hear so much idle talk, and to be living in a luxurious waste of that, which might have been much better bestowed. I had not strength enough to break thro' that, which custom has imposed on those, provided with plentiful bishopricks; I pray GOD to help you to find a decent way of laying this down.

The wives and children of bishops ought to be exemplary in their apparel, and in their whole deportment; remembring that no part of the bishops honours belong to them: the wife of a bishop ought to visit the widow and the fatherless, and by a grave authority, instruct and admonish as well as oblige and favour the wives of the rest of the clergy.

The children of bishops ought to be well instructed, and managed with all gravity; bi-

shops

shops ought not to press them beyond their inclinations to take orders: for this looks as if they would trust them, how unfit or unwilling soever, into such preferments as they can give or procure for them: on the contrary, tho' their children should desire to go into orders, they ought not to suffer it, unless they see in them a good mind and sincere intentions, with the other necessary qualifications; in which they cannot be deceived, unless they have a mind to deceive themselves: it is a betraying of their trust, and the worst sort of simony, to provide children with great dignities and benefices, only as an estate to be given them, without a due regard to their capacities or tempers. Ordinations are the only parts of the episcopal function, on which the law has laid no restraint; so this ought to be heavy on your thoughts.

Ordination weeks were always dreadful things to me, when I remembered those words, *Lay Hands suddenly on no Man, be not Partaker of other Men's Sins: Keep thy-*

self pure. It is true, those who came to me were generally well prepared as to their studies, and they brought testimonials and titles, which is all that in our present constitution can be demanded: I never put over the examining them to my chaplains: I did that always myself, and examined them chiefly on the proofs of revealed religion, and the terms of salvation, and the new covenant thro' christ; for those are the fundamentals: but my principal care, was to awaken their consciences, to make them consider whether they had a motion of the holy ghost, calling them to the function, and to make them apprehend, what belonged both to a spiritual life, and to the pastoral care. On these subjects I spoke much and often to every one of them a-part, and sometimes to them all together, besides the publick examination of them with my chapter.

An Expedient concerning Or-

This was all that I could do: but alas! how defective is this! and it is too well known how easy

dinations. easy the clergy are, in signing testimonials: that which I here propose is, that every man, who intends to be ordained, should be required to come and acquaint the bishop with it a year before: that so he may talk to his conscience, and give him good directions, both as to his studies and the course of his life and devotions; and that he may recommend him to the care and inspection of the best clergyman, that he knows in the neighbourhood where he lives; that so he may have from him, by some other conveyance than the person concerned, such an account of him as he may rely on. This is all that can be proposed, till our universities are put in a better method, or till seminaries can be raised, for maintaining a number of persons, to be duly prepared for holy orders.

As to the labours of a bishop, they ought to think themselves obliged to preach, as much as their health and *The Duties of a Bishop*

age

age can admit of; this the form of ordaining bishops sets before them, together with the sense of the church in all ages; the complaint of the best men, in the worst ages, shews how much the sloth and laziness of bishops will be cried out on, and how acceptable the labours of preaching bishops have always been: the people run to hear them, and hearken to their sermons with more than ordinary attention: you will find great comfort in your labours this way, and will see the fruits of them. The discreet conduct of your clergy is to be your chief care; keep not at too great a distance, and yet let them not grow too familiar: a bishops discourse should be well seasoned, turned chiefly to good subjects, instruction in the matters of religion, and the pastoral care: and the more diverting ones ought to be matters of learning, criticism, or history. It is in the power of a bishop to *let no Man despise him.*

A grave but sweet deportment and a holy conversation will command a general respect and

and as for some hot and forward spirits, the less they are meddled with, they will be the less able to do mischief; they delight in opposition, which they think will make them the more considerable. I have had much experience this way, nothing mortifies them so much as neglect; the more abstracted bishops live (from the world, from courts, from cabals, and from parties) they will have the more quiet within themselves; their thoughts will be free and less intangled, and they will in conclusion be the more respected by all, especially if an integrity and a just freedom appear among them in the house of lords, where they will be much observed; and judgments will be made of them there, that will follow them home to their dioceses.

Their Abstraction from Courts and Intrigues.

Nothing will alienate the nation more from them, than their becoming tools to a court, and giving up the liberties of their country and advancing arbitrary designs; nothing will work

work more effectually on the dissenters, than a course of moderation towards them; this will disarm their passions, and when that is done, they may be better dealt with in point of reason; all care ought to be taken, to stifle new controversies in their birth, to check new opinions and vain curiosities.

Upon the whole matter, bishops ought to consider, that the honour given them, and the revenues belonging to them, are such rewards for former service, and such encouragements to go on to more labour and diligence, as ought to be improved, as so many helps and advantages for carrying on the work of the gospel, and their heavenly father's business: they ought *to meditate on these things, and be wholly in them; so that their profiting may appear to all.* They ought *to preach in season, and out of season, to exhort, admonish and rebuke, with all authority.*

But if they abandon themselves to sloth and idleness, if they neglect their proper function, and follow a secular, a vain, a covetous

covetous or a luxurious course of life; if they, not content with educating their children well, and with such a competency as may set them afloat in the world, think of building up their own houses, and raising up great estates, they will put the world on many unacceptable enquiries: wherefore is this waste made? why are these revenues continued to men, who make such an ill use of them? and why is an order kept up, that does the church so little good, and gives it so much scandal? the violences of arch-bishop *Laud*, and his promoting arbitrary power, ruined himself and the church both. A return of the like practices will bring with it the like dreadful consequences: the labours and the learning, the moderation and good lives of the bishops of this age have changed the nation much, with relation to them, and have possessed them of a general esteem; some fiery spirits only excepted; who hate and revile them for that, which is their true glory: I hope another age may carry this yet much further, that so

they may be universally looked on, as the true and tender-hearted fathers of the church.

Concerning Patrons.

The affinity of the matter leads me, before I enter on another sense, to say somewhat concerning the patronage of benefices, which have a care of souls belonging to them: it is a noble dignity in a family; it was highly esteemed in the times of popery, because the patron was to be named, in all the masses said in his church: their is a more real value in it in our constitution, since the patron has the nomination of him, to whom the care of souls is to be committed; which must take place, unless some just and legal exception can be made by the bishop. Even that is not easy to be maintained, in the courts of law, where the bishop will soon be run into so great an expence, that I am afraid many, rather than venture on that, receive unworthy men into the service of the church, who are in the sequel reproaches to it; and this is often the case of the richest and best-endowed

best-endowed benefices.

Some sell the next advowson, which I know is said to be legal, tho' the incumbent lies at the point of death; others do not stick to buy and sell benefices, when open and vacant, tho' this is declared to be simony by law: parents often buy them for their children, and reckon that is their portion; in that case, it is true, there is no perjury in taking the oath, for the person presented is no party to the bargain: often ecclesiasticks themselves buy the next advowson, and lodge it with trustees for their own advantage,

Where nothing of all this traffick intervenes, patrons bestow benefices on their children or friends, without considering either their abilities or merit; favour or kindred being the only thing that weighs with them. When all this is laid together, how great a part of the benefices of *England* are disposed of, if not simoniacally, yet at least unworthily, without regard to so sacred a trust, as the care of souls? certainly patrons, who,

without due care and enquiry, put souls into bad hands, have much to answer for.

I will not say, that a patron is bound always to bestow his church on the best man he can find; that may put him on anxieties, out of which it will not be easy to extricate himself; nor will it be always possible to ballance the different excellencies of men, who may have various talents, that lie several ways, and all of them may be useful, some more, some less: but in this I am positive, that no patron answers the obligation of that trust, unless he is well persuaded, that the clerk he presents is a truly good man, has a competent measure of knowledge, zeal and discretion, so suited to the people, for whom he names him, that he has reason to believe, he will be a faithful pastor and a prudent guide to them.

Patrons ought to take this o their conscience, to manage it with great caution, and in the fear of GOD, and not to enter into that filthy merchandize of the souls of men, which

which is too common; it is like to be a moth on their estates, and may bring a curse on their families, as well as on their persons.

Non-residence and Pluralities.

I do not enter into the scandalous practices of non-residence and pluralities, which are sheltered by so many colours of law among us; whereas the church of *Rome*, from whence we had those and many other abuses, has freed herself from this, under which we still labour, to our great and just reproach: this is so shameful a profanation of holy things, that it ought to be treated with detestation and horror: do such men think on the vows, they made on their ordination; on the rules in the scriptures, or on the nature of the function, or that it is a care of souls? how long, how long shall this be the peculiar disgrace of our church, which for aught I know, is the only church in the world that tolerates it? I must add, that I do not reckon the holding poor livings that lie contiguous, a plurality, where

where both are looked after, and both afford only a competent maintenance.

I have now gone thro' the most important things, that occur to my thoughts with relation to the clergy: I turn next to such observations, reflections, and advices, as relate to the laity. I begin with the body of the people: the commonality of this nation are much the happiest, and live the easiest and the most plentifully of any, that ever I saw: they are very sagacious and skilful in managing all their concerns; but at the same time it is not to be conceived how ignorant they are, in the matters of religion: the dissenters have a much larger share of knowledge among them, than is among those who come to our churches. This is the more to be wondered at, considering the plainness, in which matters of religion are wrote in this age, and many small books concerning these, that have been published of late years, which go at easy rates,

Concerning the Body of the People.

rates, and of which many thousands are every year sent about by charitable societies in *London*, to be freely given to such as will but take them, and read them: so that this ignorance seems to be obstinate and incurable.

Upon this subject, all that I can propose, lie in two advices to the clergy: the one is, that they catechize the youth much at church, not only asking the questions and hearing the answers, but joining to that the explaining the terms in other words, and by turning to the bible for such passages, as prove or enlarge on them: the doing this constantly, would infuse into the next age, a higher measure of knowledge, than the present is like to blessed with. Long sermons in which points of divinity or morality are regularly handled, are above the capacity of the people; short and plain ones, upon a large portion of scripture, would be better hearkened to, and have a much better effect; they would make the hearers understand and love the scriptures more. Preachers ought to dwell often, in their

their sermons, on those sins that their hearers must needs know themselves guilty of, if they are so; such as swearing, lying, cheating, drunkenness, lewd deportment, breach of promise, love of the world, anger, envy, malice, pride and luxury: short discourses upon these, and often repeated, in many glances and reflections on them, setting forth the real evil of them, with the ill consequences that follow, not only to others, but to the persons themselves, are the best means can be thought of, for reforming them; and these will have an effect on some, if not on many. But above all, and in order to all the rest, they ought to be called on, upon all occasions, to reflect on their ways, to consider how they live, to pray in secret to GOD, confessing their sins to him, begging pardon and mercy for what is past, and his holy spirit to assist, strengthen, and direct them for the time to come, forming sincere resolutions to amend their ways, with relation to every particular sin, that they find they may have fallen

fallen into. If the clergy will faithfully do their duty in this method, and join to it earnest prayers for their people, they may hope thro' the blessing of GOD to succeed better in their labours. The people ought to be often put in mind of the true end of the rest on the lord's day, which is chiefly to give them time and opportunity, for meditations and reflections on themselves, on what they have said or done, and on what has befallen them the former week; and to consider what may be before them, in the week they are entering on. Ministers ought to visit their people, not only when they are sick unto death, but when they are in an ill state of health, or when they are under affliction: these are the times, in which their spirits are tender, and they will best bear with a due freedom, which ought to be managed, in the discreetest and most affectionate manner: and a clergyman ought not to be a respecter of persons, and neglect the meanest of his cure: they have as immortal souls as the greatest, and for which christ

has paid the same ransom.

From the commonalty I turn to the gentry: they are for the most part the worst instructed, and the least knowing of any of their rank, I ever went amongst. *Of the Gentry.*

The *Scotch*, tho' less able to bear the expence of a learned education, are much more knowing: the reason of which is this; the *Scotch*, even of indifferent fortunes, send private tutors with their children, both to schools and college; these look after the young gentlemen, mornings and evenings, and read over with them what they have learned, and so make them perfecter in it: they generally go abroad a year or two, and see the world; this obliges them to behave themselves well whereas a gentleman here is often both ill taught and ill bred: this makes him haughty and insolent. The gentry are not early acquainted with the principles of religion: so that, after they have forgot their catechism, they acquire no more new knowledge, but what

what they learn in plays and romances: they grow soon to find it a modish thing, that looks like wit and spirit, to laugh at religion and virtue; and so become crude and unpolished infidels. If they have taken a wrong tincture at the university, that too often disposes them to hate and despise all those, who separate from the church, tho' they can give no better reason then the papists have for hating hereticks, because they forsake the church: in those seats of education, instead of being formed to love their country and constitution, the laws and liberties of it, they are rather disposed to love arbitrary government, and to become slaves to absolute monarchy: a change of Interest, provocation, or some other consideration may set them right again as to the publick; but they have no inward principle of love to their country, and of publick liberty: so that they are easily brought to like slavery, if they may be the tools for managing it.

This is a dismal representation of things;

The Danger of losing Publick Liberty.

I have seen the nation thrice, on the brink of ruin, by men thus tainetd. After the restoration, all were running fast into slavery; had king *Charles* the second been attentive to those bad designs (which he persued afterwards with more caution) upon his first return, slavery and absolute power might then have been settled into a law, with a revenue able to maintain it: he plaid away the game without thought, and he had then honest ministers, who would not serve him in it; after all that he did, during the course of his reign, it was scarce credible, that the same temper should have returned in his time; yet he recovered it in the last four years of his reign, and the gentry of *Englaud* where as active and zealous, to throw up all their liberties, as their ancestors ever had been to preserve them. This continued above half a year in his brother's reign; and he depended so much upon it, that he thought it could never go out of his hands:

but

but he, or rather his priests, had the skill and dexterity to play this game likewise away, and lose it a second time; so that at the revolution, all seemed to come again into their wits. But men, who have no principles, cannot be steady; now the greater part of the capital gentry seem to return again to a love of tyranny, provided they may be the under-tyrants themselves; and they seem to be even uneasy with a court, when it will not be as much a court as they would have it. This is a folly of so particular a nature, that realy it wants a name; it is natural for poor men, who have little to lose, and much to hope for, to become the instruments of slavery; but it is an extravagance, peculiar to our age, to see rich men grow as it where in love with slavery and arbitrary power. The root of all this is, that our gentry are not betimes possessed with a true measure of solid knowledge and sound religion, with a love to their country, a hatred of tyranny, and a zeal for liberty. *Plutarch's* lives, with the *Greek* and *Roman* history, ought to be early

early put in their hands; they ought to be well acquainted with all history more particularly that of our own nation; which they should not read in abridgments, but in the fullest and most copious collectors of it, that they may see to the bottom, what is our constitution, and what are our laws, what are the methods bad princes have taken to enslave us, and by what conduct we have been preserved: gentlemen ought to observe these things, and to entertain one another often upon these subjects, to raise in themselves, and to spread around them to all others, a noble ardour for law and liberty. They ought to understand popery well, to view it in its politicks, as well as in its religious corruptions, that they may observe and guard against their secretest practices; particularly that mean one, that prevails so fatally among us, of making us despise the foreign churches, and hate the dissenters at home. The whole body of protestants, if united, might be an equal match to the church of *Rome:* it is much

much superior to them in wealth and in force, If it were animated with the zeal, which the monastic orders, but chiefly the *jesuits*, spread thro' their whole communion: whereas the reformed are cold and unconcerned, as well as disjointed in matters that relate to religion. The chief maxim by which men, who have a true zeal for their religion and their country, ought to govern themselves, is, to live within the extent of their estates, to be above luxury and vanity, and all expences that wast their fortunes: luxury must drive them to court favour, to depend on ministers, and to aspire after places and pensions; and as the seeking after these does often compleat the ruin of broken families, so in many they prove only a reprieve, and not a recovery; whereas he, who is contented with his fortune, and measures his way of living by it, has another root within him; out of which every noble and generous thought will naturaly spring. Publick liberty has no sure foundation: but in virtue, in parsimony and moderation:

moderation: where these fail, liberty may be preserved by accidents and circumstances of affairs, but it has no bottom to rest securely on. A knowing and virtuous gentleman, who understands his religion and loves it, who practises the true rules of virtue, without affectation and moroseness, who knows enough of law, to keep his neighbours in order, and to give them good advice; who keeps meetings for his county, and restrains vice and disorder at them; who lives hospitably, frugally and charitably; who respects and encourages good clergymen, and worships GOD, both in his family and at church; who educates his children well, who treats his servants gently, and deals equitably with his tenants and all others, with whom he has any concerns; such a man shines, and is a publick blessing to all that see him, or come near him. Some such instances are yet left among us, but alas! there are not many of them. Can there be any thing more barbarous, or rather treacherous, than for gentlemen to think

think it is one of the honours of their houses, that none must go out of them sober? it is but a little more infamous to poison them; and yet this passes as a character of a noble house-keeper, who entertains his friends kindly. Idleness and ignorance are the ruin of the greatest part, who, if they are not fit for better things, should descend to any thing, rather than suffer themselves to sink into sloth; that will carry them to the excesses of hunting, gaming, and drinking, which may ruin both soul, and body aned state. If a man, by an ill managed or a neglected education, is so turned, that every sort of study or reading is a burden; then he ought to try if he has a genios to any mechanism, that may be an entertainment to him; the managing a garden is a noble, and may be made a useful amusement; the taking some part of his estate into his own hands, if he looks carefully to it, will both employ his time well, and may turn to a good account; in a word some employments may be better than others; but there is no

employment so bad, as the having none at all; the mind will contract a rust, and an unfitness for every good thing; and a man must either fill up his time with good or at least innocent business, or it will run to the worst sort of waste, to sin and vice.

Errors in Education.

I have often thought it a great error, to waste young gentlemen's years so long, in learning *Latin*, by so tedious a grammar; I know those, who are bred to the professions in literature, must have the *Latin* correctly; and for that, the rules of grammar are necessary: but these are not at all requisite to those, who need only so much *Latin*, as thoroughly to understand and delight in the *Roman* authors and poets. But suppose a youth had, either for want of memory or of application, an incurable aversion to *Latin*, his education is not for that to be despaired of; there is much noble knowledge to be had in the *English* and *French* languages; geography, history, chiefly that of our own country, the knowledge of nature,

nature, and the more practical parts of the mathematicks (if he has not a genius for the demonstrative) may make a gentleman very knowing, tho' he has not a word of *Latin*; there is a fineness of thought, and a nobleness of expression indeed in the *Latin* authors, that will make them the entertainment of a man's whole life, if he once understands and reads them with delight: but if this cannot be attained to, I would not have it reckoned, that the education of an ill *Latin* scholar is to be given over. A competent measure of the knowledge of the law is a good foundation, for distinguishing a gentleman: but I am in doubt, whether his being for some time in the inns of court will contribute much to this, if he is not a studious person: those who think they are there, only to pass away so many of their years, commonly run together, and live both idly and viciously. I should imagine it a much better way, tho' it is not much practised, to get a learned young lawyer, who has not got into much business, to come and

pass away a long vacation or two with a gentleman, to carry him through such an introduction to the study of law, as may give him a full view of it, and good directions how to prosecute his study in it. A competent skill in this makes a man very useful in his country, both in conducting his own affairs, and in giving good advice to those about him: it will enable him to be a good justice of peace, and to settle matters by arbitration, so as to prevent law-suits; and, which ought to be the top of an *English* gentleman's ambition, to be an able parliament man: to which no gentleman ought to pretend, unless he has a true zeal for his country, with an inflexible integrity and resolution to pursue what appears to him just and right, and for the good of the publick: the parliament is the fountain of law and the fence of liberty; and no sort of instruction is so necessary for a gentleman, as that which may qualify him to appear there with figure and reputation.

Gentlemen in their marriages ought to consider

consider a great many things more than fortune, tho' generally speaking, that is the only thing sought for: a good understanding, good principles, and a good temper, with a liberal education. and acceptable person, are the first things to be considered: and certainly fortune ought to come after all these. Those bargains now in fashion make often unhallowed marriages, in which (besides the greater evils) more fortune is often wasted, than is brought, with a vain, a foolish, and indiscreet and a hated wife. The first thought in choosing a wife ought to be, to find a help meet for the man: in a married state the mutual study of both ought to be to help and please one another: this is the foundation of all domestick happiness; as to stay at home and to love home, is the greatest help to industry, order and a good government of a family. I have dwelt the longer on this article, because on the forming the gentry will, the good government of the nation, both in and out of parliament,

And in Marriages.

liament, does so much depend.

Of Trade and Industry.

As for the men of trade and business, they are generally speaking, the best body in the nation, generous, sober, and charitable: so that, while the people in the country are so immersed in their affairs, that the sense of religion cannot reach them, there is a better spirit stirring in our cities; more knowledge, more zeal, and more charity, with a great deal more of devotion. There may be too much of vanity, with too pompous an exterior, mixed with these in the capital city; but upon the whole, they are the best we have: want of exercise is a great prejudice to health, and a corrupter of their minds, by raising vapours and melancholy, that fills many with dark thoughts, rendering religion, which affords the truest joy a burden to them, and making them even a burden to themselves; this furnishes prejudice against religion to those, who are but too much disposed to seek for them. The too

constant

constant intercourse of visits in town is a vast consumption of time, and gives much occasion to talk, which is at best idle, if not worse: this certainly wants regulation, and is the effect of idleness and vanity.

Of the Stage.

The stage is the great corrupter of the town; and the bad people of the town have been the chief corrupters of the stage, who run most after those plays that defile the stage and the audience: poets will seek to please, as actors will look for such pieces, as draw the most spectators: they pretend their design is to discourage vice; but they do really recommend it, in the most effectual manner. It is a shame to our nation and religion, to see the stage so reform'd in *France*, and so polluted still in *England*. *Moliere* for comedy, and *Racine* for tragedy, are great patterns; few can, and as few will study to copy after them. But, till another scene appears, certainly our plays are the greatest debauchers of the nation. Gaming is a waste of time, that rises

rises out of idleness, and is kept up by covetousness; those who can think, read or write to any purpose, and those who understand what conversation and friendship are, will not want such a help to wear out the day; so that upon the whole matter, sloth and ignorance, bad education and ill company, are the chief sources of all our vice and disorders.

Of educating the other Sex.

The ill methods of schools and colleges give the chief rise to the irregularities of the gentry; as the breeding young women to vanity, dressing and false appearance of wit and behaviour, without proper work or a due measure of knowledge and a serious sense of religion, is the source of the corruption of that sex: something like monasteries without vows would be a glorious design, and might be so set on foot, as to be the honour of a queen on the throne: but I will pursue this no further.

Of the Nobility.

My next adress is to the nobility; most of what I have proposed

proposed to our gentry does, in a more eminent manner belong to them; the higher their condition is raised above other gentlemen, so much the more eminent ought they to be in knowledge and virtue; the share they have in judicature in the house of lords, shall oblige them to acquaint themselves with the rules and principles of law; tho' an unbiassed integrity, neither moved by friendship nor party, with a true understanding, will for the most part direct them in their judgment, since few cases occur, where the point of law is dark or doubtfull.

Of their Education.

Every person of a high rank, whose estate can bear it, ought to have two persons to manage his education; the one a governer to form his mind, to give him true notions, to represent religion and virtue in a proper light to him, to give him a view of geography, not barely describing the maps, but adding to it the natural history of every country, its productions, arts, and trade, with

the religion and government of the country, and a general idea of the history of the world, and of the various revolutions, that have happened in it. Such a view will open a young person's mind: it must be often gone over, to fix it well. The antient government in *Greece*, but much more that of *Rome*, must be minutely delivered, that the difference between a just and vicious government, may be well apprehended. The fall of the *Roman* greatness, under the emperors, by reason of the absolute power, that let vice in upon them, which corrupted not only their courts, but their armies, ought to be fully opened: then the *Gothick* government, and the feudal law should be clearly explained, to open the original of our own constitution. In all this, the chief care of a wise and good former of youth ought to be, to possess a young mind with noble principles of justice, liberty and virtue, as the true basis of government; and with an aversion to violence and arbitrary power, servile flattery, faction and luxury, from which

which the corruption and ruin of all governments have arisen.

To this governor (qualified for all this, to be sought out and hired at any rate) I would join a master for languages and other things, in which this young lord is to be instructed; who ought to be put under the direction and eye of the governor, that his time may not be lost in trifles; that nothing of pedantry or of affectation may be infused into a young mind, which is to be prepared for greater things. A simplicity of stile, with a true and grave pronunciation, ought to be well looked to; and this young nobleman ought to be accustomed, as he grows up, to speak his thoughts, on the sudden, with a due force and weight both of words and voice. I have often wondered to see parents, who are to leave vast estates, and who stick at no expence in other things, yet be so frugal and narrow in the education of their children. They owe to their country a greater care in preparing the eldest, to make that figure in it, to which he is born: and they

owe to their younger children, who are not to be so plentifully provided, such a liberal education, as may fit them to answer the dignity of their birth, and prepare them for employments, by which they may in time give a further strength and addition to their family. I have been amazed to see, how profuse some are, in procuring good dancing, fencing and riding masters for their children, and setting them out in fine clothes; and how sparing they are in that, which is the chief and most important thing, and which in time may become the most useful, both to themselves and their country. I look on the education of the youth, as the foundation of all that can be proposed, for bettering the next age: it ought to be one of the chief cares of all governments, tho' there is nothing more universally neglected. How do some of our peers shine, meerly by their virtue and knowledge; and what a contemptible figure do others make, with all their high titles and great estates?

Noblemen

Noblemen begin to neglect the having chaplains in their houses, and I do not much wonder at it, when I reflect on the behaviour of too many of these; light and idle, vain and insolent, impertinent and pedantick; by this want however, the worship of GOD, and the instruction of servants is quite neglected: but, if a little more care were taken to choose well, a lord may make a good use of a chaplain, not only for those ends, which I have mentioned, but for the reading such books, as the lord desires to be well informed about, but has not leisure to peruse himself. These he may read by his chaplain, and receive an account of them from him, and see what are the principal things to be learnt from them, for which he may find leisure, tho' not for the whole book: by this means he may keep his chaplain well employed, and may encrease his own stock of knowledge, and be well furnished with relation to all new books and new questions, that are started. The family

Of their Chaplains.

of

of a nobleman, well chosen and well ordered, might look like a little court in his country: for tho' it is a happiness to the nation, that the great number of ille and useless retainers, that were about noblemen anciently, is much reduced; yet still they must entertain many servants, to be either nusances where they live, or to set a pattern to others. The greater men are, they ought to be the more modest and affable, and more easy of access, that so they may, by the best sort of popularity, render themselves acceptable to their country; they ought more particularly, to protect the oppressed, to mortify insolence and injustice, and to enter into the true grievances of their country; that they may represent these, where it may be proper; and shew at least a tender care of those, who ought to be protected by them, if they cannot effectually procure a redress of their grievances. A continued persuit of such methods, with an exemplary deportment, would soon restore the nobility to their ancient lustre, from

which

which they seem very sensible how much they are fallen, tho' they do not take the proper methods to recover it. Have we not seen in our time four or five lords, by their knowledge, good judgment and integrity, raise the house of peers to a pitch of reputation and credit, that seemed once beyond the expectation or belief of those, who now see it? a progress in this method will give them such authority in the nation, that they will be able, not only to support their own dignity, but even to support the throne and the church. If so small a number has raised peerage to such a regard, that the people, contrary to all former precedents, have consider'd them more than their own representatives; what might not be expected from a greater number pursuing the same methods? these would become again that, which their title imports, the peers of the crown as well as of the kingdom, of which that noble right of putting on their coronets, at the coronation, is a clear proof. Great titles, separated from the great

estates

estates and the interest their ancestors had in their countries, must sink, if not supported with somewhat of more value, great merit and a sublime virtue.

Concerning the two Houses of Parliament.

After I have offered what I think of the greatest importance to the several ranks of men in the nation, I go next to consider that august body, in which they are all united; I mean the parliament. As long as elections are set to sale, so long we are under a disease in our vitals, that if it be not remedied in time, must ruin us at last, and end in a change of government; and what that may be, GOD only knows.

Of Elections.

All laws that can be made, will prove ineffectual to cure so great an evil, till there comes to be a change and reformation of morals in the nation; we see former laws are evaded, and so will all the laws that can be made, till the candidates and

and electors both become men of another temper and other principles, than appear now among them: the expence of elections ruins families; and these families will come in time to expect a full reparation from the crown; or they will take their revenges on it, if that hope fails them: the commons will grow insolent upon it, and look on the gentry as in their dependance; during the war, and while the heat of parties ferments so much, it is not easy to find a proper remedy for this. When the war is over, one expedient in the power of the crown is, to declare that elections to parliament shall be annual: but, if the same heat and rivalry of parties shall still continue, that would ruin families but so much the the sooner.

The most promising expedient, next to a general reformation, which may seem too remote and too hopeless a prospect, is to try how this great division of the nation into whig and tory may be lessened, if not quite removed: great numbers on both sides are

drawn, to take up many groundless jealousies one of another, with which men of honest minds are possessed.

Of the parties of Whig and Tory.

There are many of the tories, that without doubt look towards *St. Germains* and *France*; but this is not true of the bulk of their party. Many infidels, who hate all religion and all churches alike (being only against the church of *England* because it is in possession) do join with the whigs and the dissenters, and appear for them; from thence the ill-disposed tories possess many of those, who are better minded, with an opinion, that the whigs favour the dissenters, only to ruin and destroy religion: and great multitudes of unthinking and ignorant men are drawn into this snare. The principles of the whigs lead them to be for the revolution, and for every thing that as been done to support and establish that; and therefore those who, in their hearts, hate the revolution, fortify and promote their designs,

signs, by keeping up a jealousy of all that body, which alone can and must support it. The whigs are indeed favoured by the dissenters, because they see their principles are for toleration, in which, it is visible, that the dissenters acquiesce, without pursuing any design, contrary to the established church, into which the far greater number of them might be brought, if but a very few concessions were made them. On the other hand, the whigs, seeing the leaders of the tories drive on ill designs so visibly, (endeavouring to weaken the government; to disjoint the alliance, and to put an untimely end to the war, thereby serving the interests of *France* and of the *Pretender*) and that they are followed in this by the body of the tories, who promote their elections, adhere to them in all divisions in the two houses of parliament, and are united in one party with them, from thence conclude, that they are all equally concerned, and alike guilty: and thus they are jealous of them all. This aversion is dai-

daily growing, and will certainly continue as long as the war lasts; when that is ended, it may possibly abate: but so great a disease will not be cured, till a prince of spirit and authority, managed with temper and discretion, undertakes the cure. We see oaths and subscriptions make no discrimination, since the abjuration, tho' penned as fully as words can go, has been taken by some, who seem resolved to swallow down every thing in order to the throwing up all at once, if they should come to have a clear majority in parliament, and durst lay aside the mask.

In the parliament of 1701, called the impeaching parliament, and in the first parliament called by the queen, there was a majority of tories; yet it appeared, the men of ill designs durst not venture to discover themselves to their party and to the nation; so they proceeded with caution. They designed in 1701 to have had the duke of *Anjou* acknowledged, in order to have disgraced the late king, and his faithfullest ministers; that

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so the princes abroad, who could do nothing without assistance from *England*, despairing of that, might be forced to submit to the offers *France* made them. In the first year of the queens reign, they durst make no visible steps that way neither; but they tried to raise the heat against the dissenters, to make a breach on the toleration, and to give that body of men such a jealousy of the government, as should quite dishearten them, who were always the readiest to lend money to the publick, without which the war could not be carried on vigorously. By this it may appear, that many of the tories have not those views and designs, that perhaps some of their leaders may be justly charged with. Now a wise and an active prince may find methods, to undeceive those who are thus fatally imposed on, and led blindfold into the serving the ill designs of others; especially, if he will propose it, as a sure way to his favour, for all whom he employs, to procure a better understanding, and frequent meetings, among

mong the men of good lives and soft tempers in both parties, who by a mutual conversation will so open themselves to one another, that jealousies may by this means be easily removed. I can carry this no further at present; men of good intentions will easily find out proper methods to bring about this worthy design of healing a breach, that has rent the nation from top to bottom. The parties are now so started and kept up, not only by the elections of parliament-men that return every third year, but even by the yearly elections of mayors and corporation-men, that they know their strength; and in every corner of the nation, the two parties stand, as it were, listed against one another. This may come, some critical time or other, at the death of a prince, or on an invasion, to have terrible effects; as at present it creates, among the best of each side, a coldness and a jealousy, and a great deal of hatred and virulence among the much greater part.

There are two things of a very publick nature,

nature, that deserve the care of a parliament: the one must begin in the house of lords, and the other in the house of commons. The law of *England* is the greatest grievance of the nation, very expensive and dilatory: there is no end of suits, especially when they are brought into *Chancery*. It is a matter of deep study, to be exact in the law; great advantages are taken, upon inconsiderable errors; and there are loud complaints of that, which seems to be the chief security of property, I mean juries, which are said to be much practised upon. If a happy peace gives us quiet, to look to our own affairs, there cannot be a worthier design undertaken, than to reduce the law into method, to digest it into a body, and to regulate the chancery, so as to cut of the tediousness of suits, and, in a word, to compile one entire system of our laws. The work cannot be undertaken, much less finished, but by so great an authority, as at least

The Correction of our Laws.

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an address form the house of lords to the queen. Nothing after the war is happily ended, can raise the glory of her more, than to see so noble a design set on foot in her time: this would make her name sacred to posterity, which would sensibly feel all the taxes, they have raised, fully repaid them, if the law were made shorter, clearer, more certain, and of less expence.

Provisions for the Poor.

The other matter that must take its rise in the house of commons, is about the poor, and should be much laid to heart. It may be thought a strange motion for a bishop, to wish that the act, for charging every parish to maintain their own poor, were well reviewed, if not quite taken away; this seems to encourage idle and lazy people in their sloth, when they know they must be maintained: I know no other place in the world, where such a law was ever made. *Scotland* is much the poorest part in that island; yet the poor there are maintained by the voluntary

voluntary charities of the people; *Holland* is the perfectest pattern, for putting charity in a good method; the poor work as much as they can; they are humble and industrious; they never ask any charity; and yet they are well relieved. When the poor see, that their supply must in a great measure depend on their behaviour and on their industry, as far as it can go, it will both make them better in themselves, and move others to supply them more liberally; and when mens offerings are free (and yet are called for, every time they go to church or to sacrament) this will oblige those, who distribute them, to be exact and impartial in it; since their ill conduct might make the givers trust them with their charity no more, but distribute it themselves. If a spirit of true piety and charity should ever prevail in this nation, those, whose condition raises them above the drudgery of servile labour, might employ some years of their life in this labour of love, and relieve one another in their turn, and so distribute among

them this noble part of government. All this must begin in the house of commons; and I leave it to the consideration of the wise and worthy members of that body, to turn their thoughts to this, as soon as by a happy peace we are delivered from the cares of the war, and are at leisure to think of our own affairs at home.

Of shorter Sessions of Parliament.

One thing more I presume to suggest, which is, that we may have fewer and shorter sessions of parliament; the staying long in town both wastes estates, and corrupts the morals of members; their beginning so late in the day to enter upon business is one great occasion of long sessions; they are seldom met, till about twelve o' clock; and except on a day, in which some great points are to be discussed, upon which the parties divide, they grow disposed to rise after two or three hours sitting. The authority of the prince must be interposed to make them return to the old hours

hours of eight or nine; and if, from that time, they sate till two a great deal of business might be dispatched in a short session. It is also to be hoped that, when the war is ended, parliaments will not give the necessary supplies from year to year, as in the time of war, but will settle methods for paying the public debt, and for the support of the government, for two, if not for three years. The ill effects of an annual meeting of parliament are so visible and so great, that I hope nothing but invincible necessity will ever keep us under the continuance of so great an inconvenience. I speak of this with the more concern, because this is not only a great charge on bishops, heavy on the richer, and intolerable to the poorer bishopricks; but chiefly, because it calls them away from their diocesses, and from minding their proper work, and fills their heads too much with secular thoughts, and obliges them to mix too much with secular company; from which the more abstracted they are, as their minds will be purer and

freer, so they will be able to follow their own business with less distraction, in a more constant attendance on the ministry of the word and prayer, to which, in imitation of the apostles, they ought to give themselves continually.

I have now gone over what seemed to me most practicable, as well as most important, for all ranks of men severally in the nation, as well as for that great union of them all, in the representative of the whole in parliament: I have not gone into wild notions of an imaginary reformation, more to be wished than hoped for; but have only touched on such ill practices, and bad dispositions, as with a little care and good government may be in some measure redressed and corrected. And now, having by all these, as by so many steps, risen up to the throne, I will end this address to the nation, with an humble representation to those, who are to sit on it.

An address to

I have had the honour to be admitted to much free conversation

our Princes. versation, with five of our sovereigns; king *Charles* the second, king *James* the second, king *William* the third, queen *Mary*, and queen *Ann*. king *Charles's* behaviour was a thing never enough to be commended; he was a perfectly well-bred man, easy of access, free in his discourse, and sweet in his whole deportment; this was managed with great art, and it covered bad designs; it was of such use to him, that it may teach all succeeding princes, of what advantage an easiness of access and an obliging behaviour may be: this preserved him; it often disarmed those resentments, which his ill conduct in every thing, both in publick and private, possessed all thinking people with very early, and all sorts of people at last: and yet none could go to him, but they were in a great measure softned, before they left him: it looked like a charm, that could hardly be resisted: yet there was no good-nature under that, nor was there any truth in him. king *James* had great application to business,

business, tho' without a right understanding: that application gave him a reputation, till he took care to throw it off: if he had not come after king *Charles*, he would have past for a prince of a sweet temper, and easy of access. king *William* was the reverse of of this; he was scarce accessible, and was always cold and silent; he minded affairs abroad so much, and was so set on the war, that he scarce thought of his government at home this raised a general disgust, which was improved by men of ill designs, so that it perplexed all his affairs, and he could scarce support himself at home, whilst he was the admiration of all abroad. Queen *Mary* was affable, cheerful and lively, spoke much, and yet under great reserves, minded business, and came to understand it well; she kept close to rules, chiefly to those set her by the king; and she charmed all that came near her. Queen *Anne* is easy of access, and hears every thing very gently; but opens herself to so few, and is so cold and general in her answers,

swers, that people soon find that the chief application is to be made to her ministers and favourites, who in their turns have an entire credit and full power with her: she has laid down the splendor of court too much, and eats privately; so that except on sundays, and a few hours, twice or thrice a week at night in the drawing room, she appears so little, that her court is as it were abandoned. Out of all these princes conduct, and from their successes in their affairs, it is evident what ought to be the measures of a wise and good prince, who would govern the nation happily and gloriously.

The first, the most essential, and most indispensable rules for a king is, to study the interest of the nation, to be ever in it, and to be always pursuing it; this will lay in for him such a degree of confidence, that he will be ever safe with his people, when they feel they are safe in him. No part of our story shews this more visibly, than queen *Elizabeth's* reign, in which the true interest of the nation

nation was constantly pursued; and this was so well understood by all, that eve y thing else was forgiven her and he. ministers both. Sir *Simon Dewe's* journal shews a treatment of parliaments, that could not have been born at any other time, or under any any other administration: this was the constant support of king *William's* reign, and continues to support the present reign, as it will support all who adhere steadily to it.

A prince, that would command the affections and purses of this nation, must not study to stretch his prerogative, or be uneasy under the restraints of law; as soon as this humour shews itself, he must expect, that a jealousy of him, and an uneasy opposition to him, will follow thro' the whole course of his reign; whereas if he governs well, parliaments will trust him, as much as a wise prince would de ire to be trusted; and will supply him in every war that is necessary, either for their own pre ervation, or the preservation of those allies with whom mutual interest and

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leagues unite him: but tho', soon after the restoration, a slavish parliament supported king *Charles* in the *Dutch* war, yet the nation must be strangely changed, before any thing of that sort can happen again.

One of the most detestable and foolishest maxims, with relation to our government, is to keep up parties and a rivalry among them; to shift and change ministers, and to go from one party to another, as they can be brought in their turns to offer the prince more money, or to give him more authority: this will in conclusion render him odious and contemptible to all parties, who growing accustomed to his fickleness, will never trust him, but rather study to secure themselves, by depressing him; of which the reign of *Henry* the third of *France* is a signal instance. We saw what effects this had on king *Charles's* reign; and king *William* felt what an ill step he had made, near the end of his reign, in pursuing this maxim. Nothing creates to a prince such a confidence, as a constant and

clear firmness and steadiness of government, with an unblemished integrity in all his professions; and nothing will create a more universal dependance on him, than when it is visible, he studies to allay the heats of parties, and to reconcile them to one another: this will demonstrate, that he loves his people, and that he has no ill designs of his own.

A prince, who would be well served, ought to seek out among his subjects the best and most capable of youth, and see to their good education at home and abroad; h should send them to travel, and order his ministers abroad to keep such for some time about them, and to send them from court to court, to learn their language, and observe their tempers: if but twelve such were constantly kept, on an allowance of 250*l.* a-year, the whole expence of this world rise but to 3000*l.* a-year: by this inconsiderable charge, a prince might have a constant nursery for a wise and able ministry. But those ought to be well chosen, none ought to pretend to the nomination;

nomination; it ought to rise from the motion, of the honestest and most disinterested of all his ministers, to the prince in secret. As great a care ought to be had, in the nomination of the chaplains of his ministers abroad, that there may be a breed of worthy clergymen, who have large thoughts and great notions, from a more enlarged view of mankind and of the world. If a prince would have all that serve him grateful and true to him, he must study to find out, who are the honerest and worthiest men, capable of employments, and prevent their applications, and surprize them with bestowing good posts unsought, and raising them higher, as they serve well: when it is known, that a prince has made it his maxim, to follow this method in distributing his favours, he will cut off applications for them; which will otherwise create a great uneasiness to him, and have this certain ill effect, that, where there are many pretenders, one must have the preference to all the rest; so that many are mortified for being rejected,

and are full of envy at him, who has obtained the favour, and therefore will detract from him as much as possible. This has no where worse effects than among the clergy, in the disposal of the dignities of the church: and therefore queen *Mary* resolved to break those aspirings; which resolution she carried on effectually for some years: a constant pursuing that maxim would have a great effect on the nation.

Frequent progresses round the nation, so divided, that once in seven, eight or ten years the chief places of it might be gone thro', would recommend a prince wonderfully to the people; especially if he were gentle and affable, and would so manage his progress, that it should not be a charge to any, by refusing to accept of entertainments, from any person whatsoever: for the accepting these only from such, as could easily bear the charge of it, would be an affronting of others, who being of equal rank, tho' not of equal estates, would likewise desire to treat the prince,

prince. So to make a progress every where acceptable, and no where chargeable, the sure method would be, according to the established rule of the houshold, for the prince to carry the travelling wardrobe with him, and to take such houses in the way, as are most convenient for him; but to entertain himself and his court there. and having a variety of tables for such as may come to attend on him, On this queen *Mary* had set her heart, if she had lived to see peace in her days; by this means a prince may see and be seen by his people; he may know some men, that deserve to be distinguished, of whom otherwise he would never have heard; and he may learn and redress the grievances of his people, preventing all parliamentary complaints, except for such matters as cannot be cured, but by a remedy in parliament: methods like these would make a prince become the idol of his people.

It is certain, that their affections must follow a prince, who would consider govern-

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ment and the royal dignity as his calling, and would be daily employed in it, studying the good and happiness of his people, pursuing the properest ways for promoting it, without either delivering himself up to the sloth of luxury and vain magnificence, or affecting the barbarity of war and conquest; which render those, who make the world a scene of blood and rapine, indeed the butchers of mankind. If these words seem not decent enough, I will make no other apology, but that I use them, because I cannot find worse: for as they are the worst of men, so they deserve the worst of language. Can it be thought that princes are raised to to the highest pitch of glory and wealth, on design to corrupt their minds with pride and contempt of the rest of mankind, as if they were made only to be the instruments of their extravagancies, or the subjects of their passions and humours? no! they are exalted for the good of their fellow-creatures, in order to raise them to the truest sublimity, to become as

like

like divinity, as a mortal creature is capable of being. None will grudge them their great treasure and authority, when they see it is all employed to make their people happy. None will envy their greatness, when they see it accompanied with a suitable greatness of soul, whereas a magnified and flattered pageant will soon fall under universal contempt and hatred. There is not any one thing more certain and more evident, than that princes are made for the people, and not the people for them; and perhaps there is no nation under heaven, that is more entirely possessed with this notion of princes, than the *English* nation is in this age; so that they will soon be uneasy to a prince, who does not govern himself by this maxim, and in time grow very unkind to him.

Great care ought to be taken, in the nomination of judges and bishops. I join these together; for law and religion, justice and piety, are the support of nations, and give strength and security to governments: judges must

must be recommended by those in the high posts of the law; but a prince may, by his own taste and upon knowledge, choose his bishops. They ought to be men eminent for piety, learning, discretion and zeal; not broken with age, which will quickly render them incapable of serving the church, to any good purpose: a person fit to be a bishop at sixty, was fit at forty; and had then spirit and activity, with a strength both of body and mind. The vast expence they are at, in entering on their bishopricks, ought to be regulated: no bishopricks can be, in any good degree, served under 1000*l.* a year at least. The judges ought to be plentifully provided for, that they may be under no temptation, to supply themselves by indirect ways: one part of a prince's care, to be recommended to judges in their circuits, is to know what persons are, as it were, hid in the nation, that are fit for employments, and deserve to be encouraged; of such, they ought to give an account to the lord chancellor, who ought to lay

lay it before the throne. No crime ought to be pardoned, till the judge who give sentence is heard, to give an account of the evidence, with the circumstances of the fact, as it appeared on the trial: no regard ought to be had to stories that are told, to move compassion; for in these, little regard is had to truth: and an easiness in pardoning is, in some sort, an encouraging of crimes, and giving a licence to commit them.

But to run out no longer into particulars, the great and comprehensive rule of all is, that a king should consider himself as exalted by almighty GOD into that high dignity, as into a capacity of doing much good, and of being a great blessing to mankind, and in some sort a GOD on earth; and therefore, as he expects, that his ministers should study to advance his service, his interests and his glory; and that, so much the more, as he raises them to higher posts of favour and honour; so he, whom GOD has raised to the greatest exaltation, this world is capable

of, should apply himself wholly to cares, becoming his rank and station, to be in himself a pattern of virtue and true religion, to promote justice, to relieve and revenge the oppressed, and to seek out men of virtue and piety, and bring them into such degrees of confidence, as they may be capable of; to encourage a due and a generous freedom in their advices, to be ready to see his own errors, that he may correct them, and to entertain every thing, that is suggested to him, for the good of his people, and for the benefit of mankind; and to make a difference between those, who court his favour for their own ends, who study to flatter and by that to please him, often to his own ruin, and those who have great views and noble aims, who set him on to pursue designs worthy of him, without mean or partial regards to any ends or interests of their own. It is not enough for a prince, not to encourage vice or impiety, by his own ill practices; it ought to appear, that these are odious to him, and that they

they give him horror: a declaration of this kind, solemnly made and steadily pursued, would soon bring on at least an exterior reformation, which would have a great effect on the body of the nation, and on the rising generation, tho' it were but hipocritically put on at first. Such a prince would be perhaps too great a blessing to a wicked world: queen *Mary* seemed to have the seeds of all this in her; but the world was not worthy of her: and so GOD took her from it.

An Exhortation to all, to become truly Religious.

I will conclude this whole address to posterity with that, which is the most important of all other things, and which alone will carry every thing else along with it; which is to recommend, in the most solemn and serious manner, the study and practice of religion to all sorts of men, as that which is both *the Light of the World*, and *the Salt of the Earth*. Nothing does so open our faculties, and compose and direct the whole man, as an

inward sense of GOD, of his authority over us, of the laws he has set us, of his eye ever upon us, of his hearing our prayers, assisting our endeavours, watching over our concerns, and of his being to judge and to reward or punish us in another state, according to what we do in this: nothing will give a man such a detestation of sin, and such a sense of the goodness of GOD, and of our obligations to holiness, as a right understanding and a firm belief of the christian religion: nothing can give a man so calm a peace within, and such a firm security against all fears and dangers without, as the belief of a kind and wise providence, and of a future state. An integrity of heart gives a man courage, and a confidence that cannot be shaken: a man is sure that, by living according to the rules of religion, he becomes the wisest, the best and happiest creature, that he is capable of being: honest industry, the employing his time well and a constant sobriety, an undefiled purity and chastity, with a quiet serenity, are the

best

best preservers of life and health: so that, take a man as a single individual, religion is his guard, his perfection, his beauty, and his glory: this will make him *the Light of the World*, shining brightly, and enlightening many round about him.

Then take a man as a piece of mankind, as a citizen of the world, or of any particular state, religion is indeed *then the Salt of the Earth:* for it makes every man to be to all the rest of the world, whatsoever any one can with reason wish or desire him to be. He is true, just, honest and faithful in the whole commerce of life, doing to all others, that which he would have others do to him: he is a lover of mankind, and of his country: he may and ought to love some more than others; but he has an extent of love to all, of pity and compassion, not only to the poorest, but to the worst; for the worse any are, they are the more to be pitied. He has a complacency and delight in all that are truly, tho' but defectively good, and a respect and veneration

veneration for all that are eminently so: he mourns for the sins, and rejoices in the virtues of all that are round about him: in every relation of life, religion makes him answer all his obligations: it will make princes just and good, faithful to their promises, and lovers of their people: it will inspire subjects with respect, submission, obedience and zeal for their prince: it will sanctify wedlock to be a state of christian friendship, and mutual assistance: it will give parents the truest love to their children, with a proper care of their education: it will command the returns of gratitude and obedience from children: it will teach masters to be gentle and careful of their servants, and servants to be faithful, zealous, and diligent in their masters concerns: it will make friends tender and true to one another; it will make them generous, faithful and disinterested: it will make men live in their neighbourhood, as members of one common body, promoting first the general good of the whole, and then

the good of every particular, as far as a man's sphere can go: it will make judges and magistrates just and patient, hating covetousness, and maintaining peace and order, without respect of persons: it will make people live in so inoffensive a manner, that it will be easy to maintain justice, whilst men are not disposed to give disturbance to those about them. This will make bishops and pastors faithful to their trust, tender to their people, and watchful over them; and it will beget in the people an esteem for their persons, and their functions.

Thus religion, if truly received and sincerely adhered to, would prove the greatest of all blessings to a nation: but by religion, I understand somewhat more than the receiving some doctrines, tho' ever so true, or the professing them, and engaging to support them, not without zeal and eagerness. What signify the best doctrines, if men do not live suitably to them; if they have not a due influence upon their thoughts, their principles, and

and their lives? men of bad lives, with sound opinions, are self condemned, and lie under a highly aggravated guilt; nor will the heat of a party, arising out of interest, and managed with fury and violence, compensate for the ill lives of such false pretenders to zeal; while they are a disgrace to that, which they profess and seem so hot for. By religion I do not mean, an outward compliance with form and customs, in going to church, to prayers, to sermons and to sacraments, with an external shew of devotion, or, which is more, with some inward forced good thoughts, in which many may satisfy themselves, while this has no visible effect on their lives, nor any inward force to subdue and rectify their appetites, passions and secret designs. Those customary performances, how good and useful soever, when well understood and rightly directed, are of little value, when men rest on them, and think that, because they do them, they have therefore acquitted themselves of their duty, tho' they continue still proud, covetous,

covetous, full of deceit, envy and malice: even secret prayer, the most effectual of all other means, is designed for a higher end, which is to possess our minds with such a constant and present sense of divine truths, as may make these live in us, and govern us; and may draw down such assistances, as may exalt and sanctify our natures.

So that by religion I mean, such a sense of divine truth, as enters into a man, and becomes a spring of a new nature within him; reforming his thoughts and designs, purifying his heart, and sanctifying him, and governing his whole deportment, his words as well as his actions; convincing him that, it is not enough, not to be scandalously vicious, or to be innocent in his conversation, but that he must be entirely, uniformly and constantly pure and virtuous, animating him with a zeal, to be still better and better, more eminently good and exemplary, using prayers and all outward devotions, as solemn acts testifying what he is inwardly and at heart,

and as methods instituted by GOD, to be still advancing in the use of them further and further, into a more refined and spiritual sense of divine matters. This is true religion, which is the perfectio of human nature, and the joy and delight of every one, that feels it active and strong within him; it is true, this is not arrived at all at once; and it will have an unhappy allay, hanging long even about a good man: but, as those ill mixtures are the perpetual grief of his soul, so is it his chief care to watch over and to mortify them; he will be in a continual progress, still gaining ground upon himself: and as he attains to a good degree of purity, he will find a noble flame of life and joy growing upon him. Of this I write with the more concern and emotion, because I have felt this the true and the only joy, which runs thro' a man's heart and life: it is that which as been for many years my greatest support; I rejoice daily in it; I feel from it the earnest of that supreme joy, which I pant and long for;

I am sure there is nothing else can afford any true or compleat happiness. I have, considering my sphere, seen a great deal of all, that is most shining and tempting in this world: the pleasures of sense I did soon nauseate; intrigues of state, and the conduct of affairs have something in them, that is more specious; and I was, for some years, deeply immersed in these, but still with hopes of reforming the world, and of making mankind wiser and better: but I have found, *That which is crooked cannot be made straight.* I acquainted myself with knowledge and learning, and that in a great variety, and with more compass than depth: but tho' *Wisdom excelleth folly, as much as light does darkness;* yet, as it is a *Sore travail,* so it is so very defective, that what is *wanting* to compleat it, *cannot be numbered.* I have seen that *two were better than one,* and that a *threefold cord is not easily loosed;* and have therefore cultivated friendship with much zeal and a disinterested tenderness; but I have found this

was also vanity and vexation of spirit, tho' it be of the best and noblest sort. So that, upon great and long experience, I could enlarge on the preacher's text, *vanity of vanities and all is vanity;* but I must also conclude with him; *fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the all of man,* the whole both of his duty, and of his happiness. I do therefore end all, in the words of *David*, of the truth of which, upon great experience and a long observation, I am so fully assured, that I leave these as my last words to posterity: "*Come ye children, harken unto* "*me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord;* "*what man is he that desireth life, and* "*loveth many days, that he may see good;* "*keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from* "*speaking guile; depart from evil, and do good* "*seek peace and pursue it. The eyes of the* "*Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are* "*open to their cry; but the face of the Lord is* "*against them that do evil, to cut of the re-* "*membrance of them; from the earth. The*

"*righteous*

" *righteous cry, and the Lord heareth and de-*
" *livereth them out of all their troubles. The*
" *Lord is nigh unto them, that are of a broken*
" *heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite*
" *spirit.*"

N. B. This was written in *june* 1708, when the author thought himself near the end of the history.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 13, for AUGHT read OUGHT.
P. 14, for AS read HAS.
P. 22, for clergy IS read clergy ARE.
P. 33, for FIERRY read FIERY.
P. 38, for COMONALITY read COMONALTY.
P. 44, for WHERE read WERE.
P. 49, for REALY read REALLY;
P. 53, for gentry WILL read gentry WELL.
P. 56, for WRIGHT read WRITE.
P. 62, for WERLD read WOULD
P. 91, read HYPOCRITICALLY.
P. 78, dele OF. P. 86, dele TO.